



Security Council

Fifty-sixth year

Provisional

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Friday, 19 October 2001, 10 a.m.

New York

<i>President</i>	Mr. Ryan	(Ireland)
<i>Members</i>	Bangladesh	Mr. Amin
	China	Mr. Wang Yingfan
	Colombia	Mr. Valdivieso
	France	Mr. Levitte
	Jamaica	Miss Durrant
	Mali	Mr. Ouane
	Mauritius	Mr. Koonjul
	Norway	Mr. Kolby
	Russian Federation	Mr. Granovsky
	Singapore	Mr. Mahbubani
	Tunisia	Mr. Jerandi
	Ukraine	Mr. Krokhmal
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. Eldon
	United States of America	Mr. Rosenblatt

Agenda

The situation in Somalia.

Report of the Secretary-General on the situation in Somalia (S/2001/963).

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01-58958 (E)



The meeting was called to order at 10.20 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in Somalia

Report of the Secretary-General on the situation in Somalia (S/2001/963)

The President: I should like to inform the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Belgium, Djibouti, Egypt, Ethiopia, Japan, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Nigeria, Qatar, Somalia, the Syrian Arab Republic and Yemen, in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

On behalf of the Council, I extend a warm welcome to the Prime Minister of Somalia, Mr. Ali Khalif Galaydh.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Galaydh (Somalia), took a seat at the Council table.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. De Ruyt (Belgium), Mr. Olhaye (Djibouti), Mr. Aboul Gheit (Egypt), Mr. Hussein (Ethiopia), Mr. Motomura (Japan), Mr. Dorda (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya), Mr. Mbanefo (Nigeria), Mr. Al-Nasser (Qatar), Mr. Mekdad (Syrian Arab Republic) and Mr. Al-Ashtal (Yemen) took seats at side of the Council Chamber.

The President: In accordance with the understanding reached in the Council's prior consultations, and in the absence of objection, I shall take it that the Security Council agrees to extend an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure to Mr. David Stephen, Representative of the Secretary-General for Somalia.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

I invite Mr. Stephen to take a seat at the Council table.

The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members have before them the report of the Secretary-General on the situation in Somalia, document S/2001/963.

As there is no list of speakers for the Council members, I would invite those members who wish to speak or to ask questions to so indicate to the Secretariat as from now.

I shall now give the floor to Mr. David Stephen, Representative of the Secretary-General for Somalia, to introduce the Secretary-General's report.

Mr. Stephen: I wish to thank you, Sir, and members of the Council for affording me this opportunity to present the report of the Secretary-General on the situation in Somalia. As Representative of the Secretary-General, I deal with the political side, whereas we have a resident coordinator and humanitarian coordinator dealing with the operational side.

Members of the Council will be familiar with the report. It tries to set out the salient features of the humanitarian, security and political situation in Somalia today. Inter alia, it highlights the serious humanitarian situation in much of the country. It also makes clear that the security situation remains difficult. It describes recent political events, updating members of the Council since the last report. The Secretary-General also submits some ideas for further consultation and consideration, including the possibility of the establishment of a committee of friends of Somalia.

I should like, if I may, to offer some general observations about the situation in Somalia.

It is 10 years since the collapse of the Siad Barre regime — 10 years during which Somalia has been without effective central institutions of any description. While we know of situations in which States have ceased to prevail in their territory or in which power has slipped away from States in parts of their territory, I do believe that the situation of Somalia is unique: 10 years without any national institutions of any description.

As a result of that situation, the main focus of loyalty and source of identity for many Somalis remains the clan. The task in Somalia is not so much that of negotiating ceasefires, although that was necessary at one stage, but helping the Somalis to devise institutions which are trusted and legitimate and which command the allegiance of the population over and above the clan. This was what the President of Djibouti attempted to do when he convened the Conference in Arta last year, and I think it is still a reasonable aspiration for the international community.

It is, at the same time, complicated, but also rather simple in essence. For example, the clan situation which is described in the latest report of the Secretary-General and in previous reports may seem complicated — the names of the clans and the sub-clans. It sounds complicated, but the crucial question is to find a role for all clans within the future structure of Somalia. As the Secretary-General said in his report of 1998, the restoration of trust is the crucial ingredient there.

The Transitional National Government (TNG), as its name implies, is transitional. It was established as a transition to more permanent arrangements in the country and the future is up for negotiation. That is the way I would see it; that is my personal interpretation. There are those political leaders and others who have not taken part in the Arta process and, for there to be common institutions in the country, it seems that the TNG is a start — as it were, an embryo — on which the future could be based.

Still, we have the problem of suspicion on a clan basis. As I informed members of the Council in the informal consultations on Wednesday, the very bad experience much of the country had of government under the dictatorship means that the notion of government is not a favourable one for many Somalis. They are suspicious, automatically, of what a central authority might be. Therefore, presentation is very important there and we are also stressing the need for regional participation. It is completely open in the future. The Transitional National Charter adopted at Arta says that the future structure of Somalia should be federal and this is therefore, possibly, an important way of bringing on board all those elements.

If the problem inside Somalia is therefore one of trust in common institutions, for the international community there is another problem. That is the

problem of what was identified a few years ago as the proliferation of initiatives. It was remarked by a senior colleague in the Secretariat that there was a phenomenon called "divide and rule" under colonial regimes. We have in Somalia, some people say, a situation of "divide upwards" — in other words, "divide and no rule" — in which the Somalis make pitches to various countries, telling them that they are their favourite negotiators and that they are the ones who understand the country. Other Somalis then go to other countries and we do have this quite serious problem of knowing how the international community will structure itself in order to facilitate the future peace process. That, I think, is clear from the report, but I would draw the attention of members of the Council to it.

The President: I shall now give the floor to the Prime Minister of Somalia, Mr. Ali Khalif Galaydh.

Mr. Galaydh (Somalia): I want to seize this opportunity to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council. I am confident that, under your wise leadership, the Council will continue to be engaged in promoting the principles of the United Nations Charter.

I am delighted to register the profound appreciation of the people and the Government of Somalia at the honour that has been bestowed upon the Secretary-General and the United Nations. Indeed, the award of the Nobel Peace Prize to the Secretary-General is a recognition of his tireless efforts in the search for durable peace in the world.

The events of 11 September alerted peoples and Governments all over the world to the danger posed by international terrorism. The Somali Government has unequivocally expressed its outrage and disgust at the heinous acts of terrorism perpetrated against the Government and the people of the United States. It has expressed its condolences and prayers to the President of the United States and to the families of the bereaved. The Somali Government firmly believes that the international community must be united and strong in the face of this menace. We reiterate our commitment and determination to cooperate with the United Nations, and on a bilateral basis, in the fight against international terrorism.

That commitment and determination to combat terrorism are reflected in recent decisions taken by my Government. First of all, we fully support Security

Council resolution 1373 (2001). That resolution sets out the legal framework of the fight against terrorism and the obligations of Member States in that fight.

Secondly, the Somali Government has recently established an anti-terrorism task force, which will put together a national security and anti-terrorist action plan. The task force will gather intelligence and information, monitor the activities of potential suspects and share information with the United Nations.

Thirdly, the Somali Government has engaged *ulma* — religious leaders — from all sects and schools in the country with a view to enlisting their support in the fight against terrorism.

Fourthly, the Somali Government has also engaged the owners of the money-transfer agencies known as *hawala*, who have assured us of their commitment to transparency. *Hawala* owners have pledged to open their records to the United Nations and other interested parties and to share any insightful information with the Somali Government and others.

Finally, a joint committee of cabinet members and members of the Somali Parliament has recently been formed to review the penal code and other laws as part of the country's national obligations under Security Council resolution 1373 (2001).

For the Government's programmes against terrorism to be effective, it is incumbent upon the international community to provide us with all the assistance needed. That assistance can be in the form of training and the provision of logistics for our security services. Failure to do just that might lead to the creation of a vacuum that could contribute to breeding terrorism.

For our part, and for the purpose of enhancing security, we have been able to put in camps over 25,000 militia members to be trained and reintegrated into society. Moreover, 8,000 policemen drawn from those 25,000 individuals have been deployed in and around Mogadishu. I am happy to report that in the capital city there are neither green lines nor checkpoints run by the warlords.

The Somali national army is being re-established to reinforce security and to strengthen peace and stability within the country. Members of the national army will also be instrumental in bringing about the needed security within the framework of the Government's plans related to decentralization and to

the devolution of power to the regions. In that context, my Government has, for the first time in 11 years, started collecting taxes in the capital, Mogadishu; this has been supported enthusiastically by the public.

The progress made by our Government in the continued pursuit of peace and stability in the country was commended at the seventy-fourth ordinary session of the Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), which was convened at Lusaka in July 2001. In its decision on Somalia, the Council of Ministers

"Expresses satisfaction at the progress made by the Transitional National Government in the establishment of peace and security in the country and requests the OAU and the international community to continue to assist the Government in this regard." (CM/Dec.594 (LXXIV), para. 7)

On the question of national reconciliation, the principles upon which that process is built include the following. First, the outcome of the Arta peace process will continue to be the basis for the pursuit of Somali national reconciliation. Secondly, that process will continue to be a Somali process, and the Somali Government will welcome and embrace every positive effort exerted by neighbouring countries and the world community that can facilitate the process. Thirdly, the engagement of those who are outside the Arta peace process through sustained dialogue and negotiations is a crucial component of the national reconciliation endeavour.

In the light of those principles, the Somali Government has succeeded in bringing on board two out of the five factions based in Mogadishu which had not supported the Arta conference. Intensive negotiations are going on with the remaining factions and with the northern administrative entities "Somaliland" and "Puntland".

My Government has recently established the National Reconciliation Commission stipulated by the interim charter. The Commission will be operating independently of the Government and it will be composed of 25 eminent Somali political and other prominent public figures. Its mandate will focus on reconciling all the parties in Somalia, with a view to attaining lasting peace and stability for all Somalis. It is envisaged that the Commission will facilitate the process of the establishment of a federal Government

which will reflect the desires of Somali society as a whole.

My Government's policies with regard to the National Reconciliation Commission are consistent with resolutions adopted by the United Nations, the Organization of the Islamic Conference, the OAU, the League of Arab States and the Intergovernmental Authority on Development. The decisions on Somalia that emanated from the seventh-third and seventy-fourth ordinary sessions of the Council of Ministers of the OAU called upon member States and the international community to assist the Government in its endeavours pertaining to national reconciliation.

In paragraph 3 of the decision on Somalia adopted at the seventy-fourth ordinary session of the Council of Ministers of the OAU, the Council of Ministers

"Reiterates its earlier call to the Transitional National Government (TNG) to intensify its efforts so as to bring about ... lasting national reconciliation, building upon the outcome of the Arta peace process, and supports the efforts aimed at the establishment of the National Reconciliation Commission". (*Ibid.*, para. 3)

Lack of funds and resources has precluded the beginning of the work of the Commission and continues to constitute a major stumbling block. Given the importance of this independent Commission and the role it can play in bringing about lasting peace and stability in Somalia, the international community is called upon to shoulder its responsibility and provide the resources needed to enable the Commission to carry out its work.

In paragraph 9 of the decision on Somalia adopted at the seventy-fourth ordinary session of the Council of Ministers of the OAU, the Council of Ministers

"Requests the Secretary-General [of the OAU] to work closely with IGAD, the League of Arab States, the Organization of the Islamic Conference and the wider international community to continue to support the Transitional National Government in its efforts to sustain reconciliation and reconstruction in Somalia." (*Ibid.*, para. 9)

It is with deep regret that I must report that the warlords continue to be a major impediment to the

national reconciliation process. They orchestrated and have been held responsible for the kidnapping of humanitarian aid workers. That kidnapping perpetrated by the warlords has been condemned by the United Nations and by the European Union, and has unfortunately caused a setback in the peace process. Moreover, paragraph 8 of the decision on Somalia adopted at the seventy-fourth ordinary session of the Council of Ministers of the OAU strongly condemned the warlords who persist in their stubbornness in blocking the peace efforts in Somalia.

The Somali Government welcomes the report of the Secretary-General on the situation in Somalia (S/2001/963). We thank the Secretary-General and the Secretariat for the support they have extended to the National Transitional Government of Somalia. We have a historical link with the United Nations dating back to the time when part of Somalia was placed under United Nations Trusteeship. We also want to acknowledge the role of the Secretary-General and his continuous interest in my country. We believe that the Secretary-General and the Secretariat are genuinely interested in promoting peace and national reconciliation in Somalia. We wish to thank the Secretary-General for his comprehensive report on the situation in Somalia. However, I would like to highlight some points with respect to this report.

We note with regret that the report does not recommend the establishment of a peace-building mission in Somalia. This decision is based on the result of the security assessment carried out by some middle-level field officers stationed in Nairobi.

We believe the failure to establish a peace-building mission in Somalia will send the wrong signal to the international community, particularly the regional and subregional organizations, donors and the warlords. This will further contribute to the vicious circle of inadequate security and the perpetuation of the benign neglect to which Somalia has been subjected over a decade.

In our view, the establishment of a peace-building mission in Somalia is imperative and critical at this moment. We propose the dispatch of a high-level inter-agency United Nations mission to Somalia, with a mandate to critically examine the work of the security office in Nairobi and to re-evaluate, in an objective manner, the security situation in Mogadishu and the whole of Somalia.

In his report, the Secretary-General expressed his intention to consult all concerned on the feasibility and usefulness of setting up a Committee of Friends of Somalia to focus on ways and means of drawing attention to Somalia's needs in the area of national reconciliation, as well as to help mobilize funds for rehabilitation and development. The Government welcomes the idea of the establishment of this Committee. It must, however, be fully engaged in the consultations necessary for designing the framework within which the Committee would function. Members of the Committee must be supportive of peace and stability in Somalia and be willing to play a constructive role and have a genuine interest in building upon Arta and its outcome. Furthermore, during the process of the formation of the Committee, we must take into account the lessons of experience learned with respect to the mechanism of the Committee of Friends, especially in countries like Angola.

We must also address the issue of reconstruction, rehabilitation and development concurrently. My Government inherited a country that was in a shambles, as is very well portrayed in the Secretary-General's report, without financial resources and infrastructure. For the past year, my Government has been operating on a budget of only \$14 million, despite the daunting challenges. We believe that it is unconscionable for the international community to wait and watch while we struggle with such meagre resources.

Briefly put, Somalia has now moved from the struggle for survival to the struggle for peace. We need the United Nations and its partner aid agencies to reflect this change by planning new initiatives. An operational plan to support good governance and peace-building in Somalia is urgently needed. Peace and security are the key to the agenda of the Transitional National Government (TNG) agenda, and there can be no development without peace and security.

This underpins a process by which the people of Somalia would begin the work of putting the country back together. The United Nations and the international community's role are therefore vital for this endeavour.

I thank the Council very much for affording me this opportunity to brief members on the recent developments in Somalia and to share the ideas of my

Government for bringing lasting peace, stability and development to our troubled country.

The President: I thank the Prime Minister of Somalia for his kind words addressed to me.

I should now like to inform the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Iraq and Kenya, in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Aldouri (Iraq) and Mr. Jalang'o (Kenya) took the seats reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

The President: I should like to inform the Council that I received a letter dated 18 October 2001 from the Permanent Representative of Mali to the United Nations, which reads as follows:

"I have the honour to request that the Security Council extend an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure to His Excellency Mr. Mokhtar Lamani, Permanent Observer of the Organization of the Islamic Conference to the United Nations, during the Council's discussion of the item entitled 'The situation in Somalia'."

That letter will be published as a document of the Security Council under the symbol S/2001/984.

I invite Mr. Mokhtar Lamani to take the seat reserved for him at the side of the Council Chamber.

Mr. Wang Yingfan (China) (spoke in Chinese): The Chinese delegation would like to welcome Mr. Galaydh, Prime Minister of the Transitional National Government (TNG) of Somalia, for his participation in the meeting. We thank him for his important presentation. We attach importance to his views and proposals, to which we will give serious consideration. We also thank Mr. Stephen, director of the United Nations Political Office for Somalia, for his briefing just now.

Since the establishment of the TNG in Somalia, in order to promote national reconciliation, improve its relations with its neighbours and gain the recognition and support of the international community, it has done a lot of work that deserves our acknowledgement.

However, the situation in Somalia as a whole is not stable. The country remains divided by the various factions. Recently, the political situation that was relatively stable in "Somaliland" and "Puntland" has become precarious. At the same time, the efforts by the relevant parties to promote reconciliation have been shelved, one after another. The peace process in Somalia, in fact, has come to a standstill. This situation is very worrying.

It has to be pointed out that the armed conflict in Somalia has escalated recently. This is intrinsically related to the spread of small arms in the area. The relations among the various parties of Somalia are already complicated enough. Unless the supply of arms to Somalia is cut off, it will be difficult to achieve peace there.

We call upon the parties concerned to base their actions on the long-term interests of peace and stability in the region, to strictly abide by the relevant resolutions of the Security Council on arms sanctions against Somalia and to work more towards reconciliation among the various parties in Somalia, and not against it. The key to the solution to the question of Somalia lies in the common efforts of the Somali people as a whole to achieve broad-based national reconciliation. We sincerely hope that the parties concerned in Somalia will take to heart the overall interests of the nation and country, set aside their past differences and work together in unity to promote the peace process in Somalia.

At the same time, the international community, including the Security Council, should give the necessary impetus to the process of national reconciliation in Somalia. At present, whether we are going to establish some kind of mechanism for reconciliation such as a Committee of Friends of Somalia, as proposed by the Secretary-General in his report, or send a peace-building mission to Somalia, the relevant plans should be put on the agenda right away so that we can take action as soon as possible. We hope that the Secretariat will make further efforts and improve communications with the parties concerned in Somalia, so as to gain their understanding and support.

We support the African Union, the Arab League, the Intergovernmental Authority on Development and the European Union, and hope they will continue to play a positive role.

The current humanitarian situation in Somalia is very grave, and the support and assistance of the international community are needed. For security reasons, some areas have no access to necessary aid. If this stalemate is not broken, the prolonged suffering of the Somali people caused by the war will continue. We appreciate the tireless efforts of the relevant United Nations agencies, non-governmental organizations and donors. We call upon the donor community to respond positively to the consolidated appeals process for Somalia so as to alleviate the suffering of the Somali people. The Chinese Government will, within its capacity, continue to provide humanitarian aid to Somalia.

Mr. Levitte (France) (*spoke in French*): I, too, warmly welcome the Prime Minister of Somalia, Mr. Ali Khalif Galaydh, whom we again had the pleasure of hearing in the Security Council. His last visit to New York, in January, gave us the opportunity to have a very constructive meeting.

The Transitional National Government (TNG) resulting from the Arta process deserves support. Admittedly, the situation is still very precarious. But, as the report of the Secretary-General emphasizes, the completion of the Arta process remains today

"the most viable option for lasting peace in Somalia." (S/2001/963, para. 57)

It is necessary that all factions rejoin the Arta process.

A statement will be made later during this meeting by the Permanent Representative of Belgium on behalf of the European Union. France fully endorses that statement, and I will therefore confine myself to some brief comments.

The current situation could engender lethargy. The Security Council first took up the situation in Somalia at the beginning of 1992. The Council has devoted a great deal of energy to the Somali crisis and has adopted almost 20 resolutions on the subject. Those resolutions made possible the deployment of two peacekeeping operations, at a cost of some \$2 billion and involving a multinational force of 37,000 men.

This is not the time to give up. The humanitarian situation, of course, calls for greater involvement by the United Nations. According to the report of the Secretary-General, 750,000 people are in need of international assistance to make up for shortfalls in foodstuffs due to poor past harvests.

Beyond that, in the context of the new situation after 11 September, it is essential to assist Somalia in order to prevent it from becoming another Afghanistan. It would appear that the Al-Itihad Al-Islamiya organization has not had a military presence in Somalia since 1995 or 1996. That is clearly a good thing. But we must prevent new terrorists from finding refuge on Somali territory in the future. The fight against terrorism in Afghanistan and elsewhere will drive the members of terrorist organizations to seek to settle anew in countries where State structures are the weakest. Somalia must not become one of their sanctuaries. That is exactly the wish of the new Somali Government. We must help them to succeed.

Helping Somalia today simultaneously entails peace-building and conflict prevention. Greater involvement by the United Nations is necessary, particularly in the crucial area of police training. The activities of the United Nations Development Programme in this area should be encouraged. I recall that France favours sending a peace-building mission to Somalia as soon as security conditions allow. Security must be assessed regularly. It is essential that a mission from Headquarters be dispatched shortly.

Mr. Mahbubani (Singapore): I join our colleagues and you, Mr. President, in welcoming Prime Minister Ali Khalif Galaydh to the Chamber. We find his presence here very reassuring. It is a sign that things are on track. We also thank Mr. Stephen for his briefing.

I have a text, Mr. President, but I hope you will allow me to divert from it from time to time to respond to other points that have emerged.

The Council will recall that we suggested here a few months ago that it might be helpful to have a brainstorming session on Somalia. Indeed, we are very pleased that, two days ago in the informal consultations room, we had a very rich discussion on Somalia. It was not the usual exchange of written statements; there was a real, candid discussion. As I said at the end of the discussion, we hope that some of it will feed into the United Nations policy. We hope that today's discussion

will build on it by also focusing on how the international community can play a useful role in forging a lasting peace in Somalia.

Certainly, the establishment of the Transitional National Government (TNG), more than a year ago, marked a significant milestone in the search for peace and stability in Somalia. Indeed, one point that we made in the informal consultations was that we should try to imagine what Somalia would be like if we did not have a Transitional National Government. Clearly, this is an asset that we have. We are therefore pleased that, when the Security Council last met the Prime Minister, in January, the Council sent a strong signal of support and, indeed, welcomed the outcome of the Arta peace process. Now it is time to take stock to see what more can be done to encourage the budding peace process. There have been some improvements, and, indeed, in our text we quote from the report of the Secretary-General, which points out that

"The TNG inherited no personnel, buildings, archives, forces of law and order or tax-collecting capacity."

Despite this, the report continues,

"Ministries are beginning to function and a number of buildings have been rehabilitated for their use. A judiciary is gradually coming into place, with Sharia courts and their militia being absorbed by the TNG. Personnel are gradually being put in place to take charge of a police system in the capital and police have returned to all 14 district police stations in Mogadishu under a command structure." (S/2001/963, para. 8)

However, the report goes on to highlight that the TNG has found it impossible, for the time being, to introduce similar law and order arrangements in other parts of Somalia due to a lack of resources. While the TNG has been able to gradually establish key State institutions, in addition to a functioning administration in and around Mogadishu, more assistance is clearly required. The report has concluded that

"the completion of the Arta process remains the most viable option for lasting peace in Somalia." (*ibid.*, para. 57).

I hope that we will again endorse the Arta process when we come up with a presidential statement.

The Secretary-General's report also states that

"there was broad agreement that the Somali situation required urgent attention and that the TNG could be the basis for completing the Djibouti peace process." (*ibid.*, para. 38)

One of the more encouraging things that Mr. Stephen told us two days ago that the people of Somalia are indeed war-weary and increasingly supportive of a national political solution that is no longer based on clan or factional affinities. As I told Mr. Stephen two days ago, we should try to build on this desire that the Somali people now have to move away from the clan-based system to a restoration of the nation and the national structure. If this is, indeed, the feeling of the Somali people, then we in the Council should send a strong signal of encouragement to the TNG and to the Somali people. As I said earlier, we hope that we will do so with the presidential statement to be adopted later. In this respect, I would like to thank Ambassador Kolby, of Norway, for agreeing to circulate a draft for our consideration.

We would like to make a few brief points with regard to the subject of today's discussion.

First, we stress that there is a need to adopt what we call a "comprehensive" approach for Somalia. We cannot simply drift along; nor can we focus only on the provision of humanitarian assistance and neglect the other critical aspects of peace-building and the establishment of a stable Government. Members of the Council may recall that we advocated similar comprehensive solutions to other problems facing the Security Council, including the situation in Afghanistan.

That brings me to my second, related point, that we really should take a fresh look at the situation in Somalia in the light of the events of 11 September. It is now clearly in the interests of the entire international community to encourage the establishment of stable Governments all around the world. Otherwise, as has already been shown, terrorists and other extremist elements can easily exploit pockets of instability to set up their operations. If I heard the Prime Minister accurately, he mentioned that a vacuum in Somalia could, indeed, provide the sort of pockets that the terrorists are looking for. I hope that the Council will bear that in mind.

We note that comparisons have been drawn, both publicly and privately, between Afghanistan and Somalia. Robert Orr, a National Security Council

official in the Clinton Administration, was recently quoted in *The New York Times* as referring to the present Afghanistan situation as "Somalia-plus". By the same token, we in the Council should be mindful to ensure that Somalia does not become an "Afghanistan-minus" for the international community. Unfortunately, the parallels are compelling. Like Afghanistan, Somalia did not function as a State throughout the 1990s and, as the Ambassador of China said, it remains awash with arms. Indeed, earlier this week, when members of the Security Council met in private consultations to discuss the situation in Afghanistan, they cautioned against allowing Afghanistan to become a "Somalia 1993". By extension, we should ensure that Somalia does not become an "Afghanistan 2001".

Thirdly, we see the restoration of a United Nations peace-building presence as being crucial to Somalia's recovery. We note that the Secretary-General's report concludes that conditions are not suitable for the deployment of a peace-building office in Somalia. Certainly, we agree that the safety and security of United Nations personnel should be a fundamental principle in our considerations. There was also a long discussion of this issue in the informal consultations. While, as everyone agreed, we should emphasize the safety and security of United Nations personnel, we should also ensure that the deployment of a United Nations office is not held hostage by a warlord or two. We must find the right balance to ensure that the United Nations is able to be effectively supportive of the TNG. Here, I am pleased that Ambassador Levitte, speaking earlier, called for regular assessments of the security situation to enable us to decide how quickly we can move forward with the establishment of a peace-building office, because there seems to be a general recognition that such an office could, indeed, play a helpful role in Somalia.

Fourthly, we reaffirm our belief that a solution to the situation in Somalia must be based on respect for the sovereignty, territorial integrity, political independence and unity of Somalia. Unfortunately, because these words are repeated so often, people sometimes forget that they are actually very important. Indeed, the sovereignty, territorial integrity, political independence and unity of Somalia must always be respected. We therefore urge all States to refrain from any military intervention in the internal situation in Somalia; Somali territory should not be used to undermine the stability of the region. Any violation of

the arms embargo imposed under resolution 733 (1992) should be reported to the sanctions Committee for the appropriate follow-up.

In conclusion, Somalia has clearly been one the biggest failures of the United Nations — that is a matter of public record. As we said in January, to this day Somalia remains a stain on the conscience of the United Nations. Today, we may finally have the opportunity to turn a new page in Somalia's history and perhaps put it on the right road. We hope that today's discussion will help to establish that. We look forward to hearing the views of other delegations, both members and non-members of the Council, and we hope that our collective wisdom today will prevail over the ghosts of the past.

Mr. Krokmal (Ukraine): I, too, would like to thank you, Mr. President, for convening this meeting. I would also like to thank the Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. David Stephen, for his comprehensive briefing. My delegation welcomes Prime Minister Ali Khalif Galaydh, who is participating in today's meeting. We are grateful for his important statement.

The most recent reviews of the situation in Somalia, including the report of the Secretary-General, enable us to draw the conclusion that, while some improvements have been made, there are still many hurdles ahead. The international media have reported that another tragic incident took place in southern Mogadishu on Tuesday. A truck hired by the International Committee of the Red Cross was attacked at a checkpoint controlled by militia loyal to Mogadishu faction leader Usman Hasan Ali Ato. It has been reported that one of the truck's security guards was killed and that two were wounded. We would be grateful to the Secretariat for providing all the information available with regard to these reports.

We are seriously concerned about the continuing instability in Somalia and its negative impact on the security and humanitarian situation and the well-being of the civilian population. The possible links of some warlords to international terrorist networks are also cause for very serious concern. We are convinced that political dialogue is the only way to achieve a lasting settlement of the conflict in Somalia. In this regard, we believe that the continuation of the Arta process remains the most valuable option in the search for peace and reconciliation in Somalia. We urge the

Somali people to continue down this difficult path and to embrace this opportunity for peace.

I would like to stress the importance of the widest possible participation of the representatives of all parts of Somali society in the efforts to rehabilitate the country. In this regard, we welcome the commitment of the Transitional National Government and of other Somali leaders to engage in a dialogue without preconditions in the interests of the people of Somalia. It is important that the momentum that has been achieved be maintained and that the parties demonstrate their commitment and the flexibility needed to continue the process of national reconciliation.

We firmly believe that the solution of the Somali question is in the hands of the Somalis themselves. It is essential that warlords and faction leaders desist from obstructing and undermining the efforts to achieve peace. It would be absolutely unacceptable to allow the success of reconciliation to depend on the whims of warlords. We therefore need to define the steps to be taken by the Security Council and other international actors to prevent the destabilizing impact of warlords and faction leaders.

International support for Somalia is also of critical importance. A key role for the international community at this stage is to support the peace process, the establishment of the rule of law and the creation of impartial national, political and judicial institutions in Somalia. In this connection, we support the Secretary-General's proposal related to a relevant framework for inter-Somali negotiations, in particular the establishment of the National Commission for Reconciliation and Property Settlement.

We also support resuming periodic ambassadorial meetings on Somalia in New York and the work of the Standing Committee on Somalia in Addis Ababa. We believe that the proposal on setting up a Committee of Friends of Somalia is a helpful one in terms of sustaining that effort. We are of the view that cooperation between the Security Council, the Organization of African Unity (OAU), the League of Arab States and the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) are essential for guaranteeing the effective participation of the international community in the efforts to resolve the conflict in Somalia. We believe that the Security Council should study carefully the observations regarding the deployment of a peace-

building office in Somalia, contained in the Secretary-General's latest report.

My delegation fully shares the Secretary-General's security assessment and would like to emphasize that ensuring the safety and security of peacekeeping personnel is a major precondition for effective United Nations activities in this area.

In conclusion, my delegation believes that today's meeting of the Security Council, as well as the recent consultations on Somalia, will demonstrate that there are no forgotten items on the Security Council agenda, and we hope that the Council will help make a real breakthrough in the Somali issue.

Mr. Granovsky (Russian Federation) (*spoke in Russian*): We associate ourselves with the words of gratitude addressed to the Prime Minister of Somalia for his important statement. We also listened closely and with interest to the instructive briefing offered by the Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. David Stephen.

The Russian Federation has always supported the speedy attainment in Somalia of national reconciliation on the basis of respect for the territorial integrity of the Somali State. The success of settlement in that country depends on whether it will be possible to involve in that process all the leading forces of society, including those that boycotted the peace conference in Arta. The Security Council must continue to support the efforts being made in this area, including the efforts made by the new Somali leadership.

We welcome the point made in the Secretary-General's report regarding the willingness of the transitional national Government of Somalia and a number of groups to engage in dialogue without preconditions, and we call upon those who have not yet done so to follow their example. The priority of this dialogue should be to reach agreement on halting violence and securing due security in the field.

We agree with the circumspect approach described by the Secretary-General about the question of establishing a United Nations peace-building mission in Somalia. We support the idea of dispatching to Mogadishu an interagency mission to assess the security situation there. The job of United Nations Members at this stage is to provide favourable external conditions for resolving the protracted conflict in Somalia.

As members of the Security Council, we will follow the situation closely to see that the territory of Somalia is not used to undermine the peace process in that country and to destabilize the situation in the Horn of Africa as a whole. All countries must continue to abide strictly by the arms embargo against Somalia. We welcome the Secretary-General's intention to stimulate an exchange of views within the United Nations between the main external players in the Somali settlement, and we are prepared to participate actively in it.

With regard to the idea of setting up a Committee of Friends of Somalia, in principle that idea merits attention. We deem to be long overdue the need to work out a uniform approach on the part of the international community to provide support for the peace process in Somalia. In this connection, we think it is useful that that body should help resolve the competition between the various peace initiatives on Somalia. Accordingly, its composition, apart from members of IGAD and the Partners Forum, should include other interested players as well, including Security Council members.

While we share the concern at the complex humanitarian situation in a number of areas of Somalia, we welcome the work done by United Nations programmes that provide assistance to that people wherever security conditions exist for that work. We call upon the Somali parties actively to facilitate the work of United Nations humanitarian personnel for the good of their own people. As a member Security Council member and by virtue of its longstanding friendship with the people of Somalia, Russia will continue to promote the restoration of its statehood on terms that are in keeping with the interests of the Somalis themselves and with security interests in the region.

Mr. Jerandi (Tunisia) (*spoke in French*): We think this discussion is extremely important first because of the gravity of the problem of Somalia and because it is an opportunity for us to hear the views of Mr. Ali Khalif Galaydh, Prime Minister of Somalia, whom I welcome.

I would also like to thank Mr. David Stephen, Representative of the Secretary-General, for his instructive and thorough introduction to the Secretary-General's report and for having briefed us on recent developments in Somalia. I wish once again to express

my Government's support for the ongoing tireless efforts made by Mr. Stephen in support of the cause of peace and national reconciliation in Somalia. I would also like to take this opportunity to stress once again the need to keep the Security Council informed at regular frequent intervals about developments in Somalia.

In Somalia we are facing one of the most complex and alarming situations. My delegation has constantly drawn the urgent attention of the Council to this. As a guarantor, under the Charter, of the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, the Council can no longer continue to be a passive bystander in the face of a tragedy that had gone on too long and the result of which has been the *de facto* dismemberment of the Somali State and almost total marginalization of a nation that has been abandoned to its fate, riven by a struggle whose finer points escape it and bereft of the dignity to which it is entitled, like any other nation.

Today the world has finally become aware — unfortunately, at the heaviest price — of the multitude of threats to international peace and security. This awareness will have served no purpose if we continue to turn a blind eye to the real risks inherent in the situation that prevails in Somalia.

The Secretary-General has given a sombre account of the situation and has concluded, because of security considerations, that it was impossible for him at this stage to recommend the dispatch of a peace-building mission to Somalia.

We appreciate the reasons adduced by the Secretary-General. We are also aware of the unique nature of the situation in Somalia compared to other situations where the United Nations has intervened without demanding ahead of time full security guarantees.

But maintaining the status quo in Somalia is not an option, and the Secretary-General's recommendations are not sufficient to advance a solution to the crisis in Somalia. It is time now to define the roles of the various external actors and, in particular, the role of the Security Council in the Somali problem. I wish to state here that we are in no way suggesting that it is up to these actors to decide on the future of Somalia, because this is the responsibility of the Somalis themselves. What I mean is that it is the duty of these actors to help Somalia resolve the

deadlock in which it has found itself for almost 10 years.

The Arta process provides us the most viable context in which to act in order to bring about peace and national reconciliation in Somalia. The Transitional National Government has acted diligently to draw up concrete programmes to that end and has sought the support of the international community and the United Nations to implement those programmes. The Government has managed — although its appeal for financial assistance has not elicited the desired response from the international community — to start to implement these projects in the urgent areas of security and recovery. It continues to make efforts to involve the recalcitrant parties in the peace process, which, I stress, has been endorsed by the entire people of Somalia.

The success of the Transitional National Government is certainly limited, but any Government would have been in the same situation had it not been given the necessary support and had its efforts met with such fierce resistance, which has prevented an international presence in the country.

The future of Somalia is a great unknown, and we need urgently to try to define it. This discussion should be used to produce a common specific vision of the role of the United Nations and the Security Council.

Tunisia believes that this role should be based on the following main elements: first, specific action should be taken in order to preserve the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and unity of Somalia, all of which should be non-negotiable. Secondly, we must prevent and put an end to any attempts to interfere, whatever form they may take, in the internal affairs of Somalia, in keeping with the provisions of the United Nations Charter. Thirdly, we must prevent and discourage the proliferation of initiatives and processes parallel to the Arta process, which remains the only viable process for achieving lasting peace and national reconciliation in Somalia.

Fourthly, we must mobilize the necessary assistance for the Transitional National Government so that it can establish and implement its plans to rebuild the country. Fifthly, we must continue to discuss the matter of the United Nations presence in the field in Somalia, and we need to start to study in depth the mandate of the Political Office for Somalia with a view to expanding it so that it can duly support the process

towards peace and national reconciliation in the country.

The problem of Somalia can no longer be addressed without placing it in the context of the world today — a world that cannot and must not tolerate the existence of forgotten areas of tension. We must all act without delay to prevent such a situation, thus guaranteeing the restoration of the Somali State and its rehabilitation within the international community.

The challenge is clear, and the need to meet that challenge is obvious. The time for action is now. The Security Council must act robustly and play its role. This is our conclusion, and it is the appeal we make today.

Mr. Eldon (United Kingdom): I would like to thank David Stephen for his very useful introduction to our discussion today and to welcome the Prime Minister to the Security Council and to New York. It is a real pleasure to see you here again, Sir.

I would like, as you did, Mr. Prime Minister, to start my intervention with a reference to terrorism and to the situation that we all face in the aftermath of the 11 September attacks. I know that Sir Jeremy Greenstock was very pleased to hear from you directly, not least in his capacity as Chairman of the counter-terrorism Committee of the Security Council, about the initiatives that you have taken to start moving towards the implementation of resolution 1373 (2001), which you announced to us today. I think this is very important, not least because, as Ambassador Levitte, said, terrorists are going to get squeezed. And it is very important to deny them havens where they can operate somehow with impunity.

This has implications for us all, and it will be particularly important to avoid pockets of vacuum where they are able to operate because there is no authority to stop them from doing that. That in turn underlines to me the importance in the context of Somalia of making sure that we do achieve peace and reconciliation in a way that will bring into play all the various elements and forces in the country on an inclusive basis.

Sadly, in terms of the security situation at least, the positive signals from the Somalia Reconciliation and Restoration Council and from the Transitional National Government, before the Organization of African Unity (OAU) summit in Lusaka in July, do not

seem to have borne fruit. As Ambassador Wang of China said — and I have a great deal of sympathy with everything in his statement — fighting has increased, and we are concerned in particular about the political instability in "Puntland". We need to find a way to stop this continuous cycle of violence, and that cycle of violence will be stopped only through dialogue.

In this connection, Mr. Prime Minister, it was very helpful to hear of your commitment to engaging those outside the Arta process. Taken together with what David Stephen had to say about the basis of the Transitional National Government being a transition towards the solution that we would all like to see, I think that makes for an encouraging background. We will be very interested to see how the independent Commission to which you referred, Mr. Prime Minister, performs in terms of providing a nucleus to bring together all the forces in Somalia towards a final settlement of the sort we all want.

David Stephen referred to "divide and rule" in the context of external initiatives. I would only partly agree with him. I think external initiatives, where they can help, are useful, and we would encourage the Ethiopian and Kenyan Governments to restart their facilitation efforts, as mandated by the Intergovernmental Authority on Development. It is vital that Somalia's neighbours and other States in the region play a constructive role in efforts to bring peace and stability.

In this connection, we very much welcome the recent meeting in Nairobi between academics from the Transitional National Government, "Somaliland" and "Puntland" aimed at exploring how federalism might work in Somalia. We strongly believe that this approach, drawing on local structures and encouraging wider involvement in the reconciliation process, is a realistic way forward. We should, I think, be seriously looking at the idea of a federal devolved model for a future Somalia as a realistic way of breaking the political deadlock.

This brings me to the United Nations role. It seems to me that the essential requirement, however it is achieved in practice, is for the United Nations to be able to contribute actively towards facilitating the sort of future structures, future settlement and future solutions to which we have all referred in this debate. On the question of a peace-building office, I think we have no option but to accept the Secretary-General's

advice that, for security and other reasons, the time is not yet right to establish such an office. I have listened carefully to those who have argued, like Ambassador Levitte, that there should be a security assessment mission to look again at the possibilities for this. We would have no difficulties with that, but it is very important, not least in terms of our own commitment as a Council to the security of United Nations staff, that the process should remain an objective, technical process that correctly balances the risks. The pressures to move in are understandable, but we must, I think, respect the views of the professionals as we take decisions in this tricky area.

On the proposal for a Committee of Friends, again, we are prepared to look at this. But, as I think the Prime Minister himself hinted in his statement, it is important that the Committee of Friends should have clear objectives and be able to demonstrate exactly how it would advance the peace process.

Sustainable improvements in the humanitarian situation in Somalia will be impossible without political reconciliation. We note that development programmes, though nascent, are active in Somalia. The work of the United Nations Development Programme in supporting good governance programmes and in stimulating pro-poor economic growth strategies are important elements in the long-term peace-building process. We support them, and we hope others will too. We also agree with the Secretary-General's observations that further steps need to be taken to assist in the building of a sustainable peace.

The United Kingdom believes that the robust framework that is needed must continue to include a strong development perspective and to recognize the fundamental contribution of development activities to lasting peace in Somalia.

None of what I have just said should be taken as detracting in any way from the statement which will be made later on in the debate by the representative of Belgium on behalf of the European Union, to which my delegation, of course, fully subscribes.

Mr. Valdivieso (Colombia) (*spoke in Spanish*): I also wish to begin by welcoming in our midst the Prime Minister of Somalia, Mr. Ali Khalif Galaydh, and his participation in the discussion on the situation in Somalia — in this open format, which is a very good development.

We also wish to thank Mr. Stephen, the head of the United Nations Political Office for Somalia, for his presentation of the Secretary-General's report. Aside from this week's consultations, the last time the Security Council took up this issue in depth was in August, when we received extensive information on the humanitarian situation. On that occasion, an exhaustive study was done and we were able to appreciate the immense potential that a decisive involvement of United Nations agencies had.

Now, we wish to present some general considerations that might contribute to the discussion on a well-defined and appropriate role for the Security Council in Somalia's national reconciliation process.

We are convinced that Somalia poses a series of challenges for the international community in the political and humanitarian domains, in which the United Nations system cannot completely avoid involvement. We are completely convinced of this, though aware that recent history and the conditions of security prevalent in several areas of Somalia do not favour the carrying-out of sustained multilateral activities that could have substantial impact on the ground.

However, we wish to affirm that it is precisely this complex context in which we are acting that must collectively motivate us on the Council to take decisions contributing to the strengthening of the efforts made by other regional and national actors, keeping in mind that all of us desire the reconstruction, the cohesion and the reconciliation of the country.

That is why Colombia considers that the Secretariat and the Security Council must offer sustained political support to the transitional Government. This is the only visible and viable effort on the national level, and if we do not offer the Government the necessary support, we will find ourselves in the same situation as before, but without a legitimate interlocutor inside the country.

At the regional level, we appreciate the various regional initiatives, and we believe that they must be the centre of attention of any effort that is taken from New York. We do not conceive the Council as a substitute for regional activities. On the contrary, we believe that the Council should complement and politically reinforce the solutions proposed by Africans in response to African problems. In this sense, we welcome the efforts extended by the Intergovernmental

Authority for Development, and the political coordination extended by the Organization for African Unity, including the possibility of convening a national reconciliation conference.

We do not know if these regional initiatives will produce the desired results, but we firmly believe that this is the best way to guarantee that the Arta process can move forward in the right direction. For that reason, we call for examining the situation in Somalia from a regional focus that involves all internal and external actors in the search for a common result: the attainment of peace, stability and normality in the entire territory.

I wish to conclude by articulating three specific considerations on the humanitarian situation, the presence of the United Nations and the creation of a Committee of Friends, as has been suggested.

First, with respect to humanitarian activities and development, the Security Council must demonstrate its commitment to the work already being carried out by United Nations agencies and by other humanitarian organizations. Even when it is evident that the Council's action is not essential to the work of these organizations and agencies, the Council's total inaction and isolation could be counterproductive for carrying out these humanitarian and development activities.

Secondly, we have taken note of the Secretary-General's opinion that the security conditions necessary for opening a peace-building office do not exist. Given the importance this office has for the process of unification and reconciliation in Somalia, we wish to encourage that a thorough review of security in Somalia, as suggested by the Secretary-General in paragraph 71 of his report, be undertaken without delay.

Finally, we have noted the proposal to create a Committee of Friends. Colombia, of course, does not oppose an idea of this kind, especially in the absence of political alternatives for Somalia. However, we want to point out that a Committee of Friends is recommendable only as long as it strengthens the regional capacity for resolving the situation in Somalia; strengthens political and financial support for the transitional Government; contributes to defining an appropriate role for the Security Council in dealing with this situation and prevents a greater breach between the Council and the situation on the ground.

Mr. Rosenblatt (United States of America): We would like to welcome our Somali friends, Prime Minister Ali Khalif Galaydh and other members of the transitional Government back to the Security Council, and express to them our desire to work with all Somalis of goodwill on the difficult but necessary task of rebuilding their country. We thank them for the update on developments in their country and note in particular Prime Minister Galaydh's words with regard to the implementation of our common struggle against terrorism.

We also thank the Secretary-General for his recent report on Somalia and share his concern about the suffering of the Somali people. We should also like to note our appreciation for Mr. Stephen's introduction of that report.

We have heard reference to the suggestion of establishing a friends of Somalia group here this morning and in our informal consultations. We welcome further discussion of the feasibility and utility of such a grouping and look forward to our own active engagement in this regard.

We also note the Secretary-General's conclusion that the current security situation in Somalia precludes the establishment of a peace-building office at this time. The key phrase is "at this time". We have complete confidence that the Secretariat will balance its deep concern for the welfare of the Somali people with its equally deep concern for the safety of United Nations personnel in gauging the feasibility of such an office. The message to those who wish to see an expanded United Nations presence is that their advocacy efforts need to be focused on Somalia, not on New York.

Even as we have this discussion, we will continue to work with the Secretariat and with our partners to identify programmes that can be undertaken for the benefit of the Somali people, within acceptable risks. We should not set the bar so high that nothing can be done inside Somalia; rather, we must do what we can in current conditions. At the same time, we must all do what we can to improve the situation.

We believe that the people of Somalia control their own political destiny. A future expansion of the United Nations presence in Somalia, however important, cannot substitute for the will of the Somali people to reclaim their country from chaos. The search

for political legitimacy must proceed inside Somalia, and it must go Somali by Somali.

In our view, no single group has yet succeeded in achieving that legitimacy. It is not for the United States Government, the Security Council or any other outside power to determine who is the legitimate representative of the Somali people. The United States will support Somali leaders, organizations and individuals who are committed to peaceful political reconciliation and the rule of law.

A critical mass of Somalis determined to work together in peace and democracy to rebuild their shattered country is the only legitimizing force that means anything. Our responsibility as the Security Council and as individual member States is to figure out how we can support the coming together of that critical mass.

The tragic conditions that originally spurred us to action in Somalia still exist. When the United Nations peacekeeping mission went into Somalia, it did not seek to conquer or occupy. It went to save lives — African lives, Muslim lives, human lives — an imperative that remains central to all our efforts. The sabotage of the peacekeeping mission was not done by the people of Somalia, nor was it done for the people of Somalia.

I want to assure the Council that my Government remains deeply committed to and concerned about the plight of our friends, the people of Somalia. We look forward to additional discussions on this issue.

Mr. Kolby (Norway): Norway welcomes this opportunity to exchange information and views with concerned Member States regarding the situation in Somalia and the efforts to bring lasting peace to the country. We are pleased to welcome, once again, Prime Minister Galaydh of the Transitional National Government (TNG) to the Council.

Norway commends the United Nations Political Office for Somalia and the Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. David Stephen, for their tireless support towards peace in Somalia. We emphasize the importance of sustained and comprehensive United Nations efforts for Somalia on the political, humanitarian and development levels.

Norway views efforts to further peace-building and stability in Somalia in a long-term perspective. Completion of the Arta peace process remains a key

priority and the only available option for lasting peace in Somalia. We encourage the Transitional National Government, political parties and leaders, traditional leaders and factions in Somalia to continuously make every effort to complete the Arta process through dialogue and the involvement of all parties in a spirit of mutual accommodation and tolerance. We call on all parties to refrain from actions that serve to undermine the outcome of the Arta peace process. While the search for a national solution continues, it is also important that unwavering attention be paid to achieving local political settlements in Somalia.

Concerted involvement on the part of the international community could help facilitate this process and we welcome the intent of the Organization of African Unity to field a mission to Somalia in this regard. We also value the efforts of the United Nations, the Red Cross and Red Crescent movement and other humanitarian and development agencies in assisting the Somali people in all regions of the country.

Continuous and unimpeded humanitarian and development assistance is now more than ever essential to meet humanitarian needs, to secure and strengthen the fragile stability already obtained in some regions and to build the basis for stability in other regions. We strongly encourage the Members of the United Nations to contribute generously to the Consolidated Inter-Agency Appeals for Somalia.

We further support the process initiated by the United Nations to review the functions of the Somalia Aid Coordination Body in order to facilitate a concerted approach towards Somalia by the international community.

A central task in the peace-building process is disarmament, not least with respect to small arms, within Somali society. We acknowledge the Transitional National Government's efforts in this regard. The international community needs to discuss how the TNG's efforts for broad disarmament, demobilization and rehabilitation in Somalia can best be supported.

Norway strongly condemns the attack this past weekend on a police station in Mogadishu, resulting in the deaths of a number of officers and civilians. We note, however, that there nonetheless seems to have been some improvement in the security situation in Somalia recently and stress that peace-building in Somalia should not be held hostage to deliberate

actions by a small subset of Somalis to prevent the country from returning to normalcy and rehabilitation of its governing structures. Against this background, we encourage the United Nations to carry out a comprehensive security assessment in Somalia, which we understand would be the first of its kind since 1995.

We must seek to introduce appropriate support structures in Somalia, *inter alia*, to avoid the country's becoming a safe haven for terrorists. The 11 September events have changed the world and we cannot pretend otherwise.

We call on the concerned States in the Horn of Africa to contribute constructively to the peace efforts in Somalia. The situation in Somalia and the objective of long-term regional stability can most effectively be addressed if neighbouring States reinforce the process of national reconciliation and the process of rebuilding national institutions in Somalia. We call on all States and other actors to comply scrupulously with the arms embargo established by resolution 733 (1992).

We recognize Ethiopia's genuine right to patrol its border with Somalia, but also encourage Ethiopia to use its influence with the Somalia Reconciliation and Restoration Council and its members to promote reconciliation with the Transitional National Government.

We acknowledge Djibouti's major contribution to the Arta process and welcome its continued role in furthering peace and reconciliation in Somalia.

We encourage the Secretary-General to consult all concerned on the feasibility of setting up a committee of friends of Somalia to facilitate exchange of information and coordination of efforts among regional actors and to focus on ways and means to draw attention to Somalia's needs in the area of national reconciliation. Such a committee should be based in the region. It should facilitate concerted approaches and should contribute to the regional capacity to explore and advance national reconciliation in Somalia. It should consolidate support for completion of the Arta process and should interact closely with the Security Council in that regard. We also strongly support the role of the OAU and of the Intergovernmental Authority on Development in this context.

Mr. Koonjul (Mauritius): My delegation would like to join you, Mr. President, and previous speakers in extending a very warm welcome to His Excellency

Mr. Galaydh, Prime Minister of the Transitional National Government (TNG) of Somalia, and to the other members of his delegation. We sincerely hope that today's meeting will provide an opportunity to have a thorough exchange of views on the situation in Somalia and will pave the way for a vigorous renewal of the United Nations relationship with the Transitional National Government in the larger interest and welfare of the Somali people. I also wish to thank Mr. David Stephen, the Representative of the Secretary-General, for his useful briefing this morning.

The report of the Secretary-General (S/2001/963) comes at a very opportune moment, especially since the last one was issued in December of last year. During the intervening period, we have witnessed quite a few developments in Somalia, some very positive and others not quite so positive. Since its installation, the TNG has been confronted with the enormous and daunting challenge of the political reconciliation, reconstruction and development of Somalia. We are all aware that for 10 years Somalia was devoid of any formal national institutions; the TNG inherited an extremely poor legacy, and it had to start from point zero.

Today, the problems faced by Somalia and by the TNG fall mainly into two categories: achieving national reconciliation on the political front while respecting the sovereignty, territorial integrity and unity of Somalia; and achieving the socio-economic reconstruction of the country.

It is encouraging to note from the report that the TNG has begun to set up national institutions. Ministries have started to function, a judiciary is gradually coming into place, and militia members are being demobilized and reintegrated. We also find that the Transitional National Government is doing the needful to have a police system in the capital. These are all indications that the TNG is proceeding, slowly but surely, in the right direction in the reconstruction process. The progress so far achieved may not quite meet the expectations of the international community. But we need to ask ourselves whether the international community has remained sufficiently engaged to help and support the TNG, as it committed itself to doing following the conclusion of the Arta process. In accordance with the Transitional National Assembly constitution, democratic elections are scheduled for 2003. The TNG therefore needs to address the basic political problems, particularly national reconciliation,

and the country's economic and development challenges, in anticipation of the elections.

The humanitarian situation in Somalia continues to be very precarious: 750,000 people are today in need of assistance to cover food shortfalls stemming from past harvest failures. Furthermore, the report states that in the current year, programmes linked to the TNG received virtually no assistance from international donors. It also states that in 2000, of the \$115.5 million resulting from international donor assistance, 42 per cent went to projects in the "Somaliland" and "Puntland" areas, 31 per cent went to the South and the remaining 27 per cent was spent on programmes implemented on a country-wide basis. Those facts give the impression that the efforts made by the TNG are not being given full and due recognition. Unless there is clear, genuine engagement by the international community to help the TNG in moving ahead in this perilous endeavour, we feel it will be difficult to see the results expected from the TNG.

The TNG has made several calls for greater involvement by the international community in Somalia in the form of a peace-building mission. It has so many times been said in this Chamber that post-conflict peace-building seeks to prevent the resurgence of conflict and to create the conditions necessary for a sustained peace in war-torn societies. This is extremely relevant in the case of Somalia. My delegation considers that the TNG should be given maximum support to sustain its current policies of administrative rehabilitation in the country. That will in turn enhance its ability to initiate dialogue with the other factions in the process of national reconciliation.

There is another important security aspect that has become particularly significant since the 11 September incident. Paragraph 56 of the Secretary-General's report refers to the Somali-based organization Al-Itihad Al-Islamiya and to its suspected terrorist links. Past events have shown us that failed States are more prone to be a breeding ground for terrorist activities. We have even seen reports alluding to the possibility of some notorious terrorists seeking other safe havens. In that regard, we welcome the actions taken by the TNG to combat terrorism, which were announced earlier by the Prime Minister. It is thus in the interest of us all to have a strong, stable Government in Somalia, especially when the world is showing its commitment and is getting fully geared up to combat terrorism. That is an additional reason why

the TNG should today be given all the assistance and help it deserves.

Following the conclusion of the Arta process, the United Nations declared its intention to assist in the Somalia peace-building process with the possible deployment of a peace-building mission. Unfortunately, in view of the negative security assessment, this has not so far been effected. My delegation believes that the security situation in Somalia, since the installation of the TNG, has improved in many ways. We note, for example, that some countries have opened up resident missions in Mogadishu, and we believe that the United Nations should consider opening an office in the country. In my delegation's view, the incidents of 14 October, almost on the eve of our deliberations here, were not coincidental and were designed to affect the credibility of the TNG. My delegation fully supports the appeal made by others at this table to the Secretary-General to arrange for a thorough security assessment by an inter-agency team from United Nations Headquarters, so that the much-awaited peace-building mission can be deployed in the near future. We also feel that such a mission should work closely with the TNG.

On the political front, we believe that the completion of the Arta process remains the most viable option for a lasting peace in Somalia. We once again call upon all the political groups in Somalia to engage in peaceful and constructive dialogue with the TNG. The TNG was formed last year with the blessing of the United Nations, the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and several of the other countries of the region, and we strongly condemn any other force or so-called alliance which attempts to supplant the TNG. We believe that the people of Somalia are now more willing to move away from clan-based groups; we encourage the TNG to win the confidence of more Somalis and faction leaders. However, the TNG should be fully committed and determined to achieve its goals of bringing peace, reconciliation and economic prosperity to the country. To attain those objectives, the TNG cannot afford to bring about any split within its ranks.

In this process, the cooperation and collaboration of the countries of the region, in particular the neighbours of Somalia, will be of the utmost importance. We call upon them to have in mind, above all, the interests of the Somali people and the importance to their own countries of regional peace

and stability when they frame their policies vis-à-vis their neighbour.

We support the proposal of considering the establishment of a Committee of Friends. But we must ensure that this does not result in a greater proliferation of initiatives which can further impede the search for a comprehensive solution.

Before concluding, I would like to put a couple of questions to Mr. David Stephen. The first one relates to the flow of arms. Does he consider that, following the lifting of the arms embargo on Ethiopia and Eritrea, there has been any impact on the flow of arms into Somalia? With regard to the security situation, given that he has been on the ground for some time, I would like to get his own assessment as to whether he feels that there has indeed been any improvement.

Miss Durrant (Jamaica): The Security Council is meeting today to examine the situation in Somalia with a view to advancing the peace-building process and consolidating the peace. We are therefore pleased to welcome the Prime Minister of Somalia as well as the Representative of the Secretary-General, and thank them for their important contributions to our debate. We also wish to express appreciation to the Secretary-General for his report, which provides an account of the political developments and an assessment of the security and humanitarian situations, and examines the possibility of establishing a United Nations post-conflict peace-building presence in Somalia.

When we met last January, the Transitional National Government (TNG) had just taken office. We are now pleased to salute the Prime Minister of the Transitional National Government, and wish to express our solidarity. We recognize that although many challenges remain, there is little doubt that there have been several advances. We agree with the Prime Minister that there can be no development without peace and security, and the question that we must ask ourselves is, what can the international community and the Security Council, in particular, do to assist the people of Somalia?

From our perspective, the first thing we need to do is to underline our strong support for the Transitional National Government and its efforts for national reconciliation. We take our cue from the Organization of African Unity (OAU), and we note that paragraph 33 of the Secretary-General's report states,

"The OAU Council of Ministers ... reiterated, inter alia, the OAU commitment to the unity, territorial integrity and sovereignty of Somalia; called on the TNG to intensify efforts to build upon the outcome of the Arta process; supported the efforts aimed at the establishment of the NCRPS (National Commission for Reconciliation and Property Settlement); and reaffirmed that a lasting solution to the conflict in Somalia could be found only through dialogue and the involvement of all the parties in a spirit of mutual accommodation and tolerance. The Council of Ministers also commended those political forces in Somalia that had agreed to engage in this process without preconditions, and strongly condemned the warlords who persisted in their stubbornness in blocking the peace efforts in Somalia. Finally, OAU requested its Secretary-General, in close cooperation with the regional organizations concerned, to continue to support the TNG in its efforts to sustain reconciliation and reconstruction in Somalia."

It is against this background that my delegation would be prepared to support the Secretary-General's proposal for the establishment of a Committee of Friends. We have noted that consultations involving Djibouti, Egypt, Ethiopia, Kenya, Saudi Arabia, the Sudan, Yemen, the League of Arab States and the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) were carried out, and that there was broad agreement that the Somali situation required urgent attention, and that the TNG could be the basis for completing the Djibouti peace process.

The report says that there was also a widely shared view on the need for a mechanism that would facilitate a uniform approach and exchange of information among States and organizations with interest in the Somali peace process. We do agree, however, with the Prime Minister that this has to be done within the framework of close collaboration with the Transitional National Government.

A strong point of the Arta process was the involvement of civil society, and we believe that it is important that this should also continue to be the focus of reconciliation efforts. In this context, we agree with the Secretary-General that much more attention could be paid to local political settlements, and that there is a need to strengthen United Nations programmes to enhance capacities at the community and local levels.

The report pays considerable attention to the humanitarian and development situation in Somalia. It notes that economic and social systems sustaining both lives and livelihoods in Somalia have been disrupted by more than a decade of conflict, as well as by recent droughts and flooding. As a result, some 750,000 persons are in need of international assistance to cover the food shortfall. The report also notes the persistence of high malnutrition rates, and child mortality rates as high as 224 per 1,000. We have taken note of the fact that United Nations agencies are elaborating a multisectoral strategy to protect and rebuild livelihoods, to prevent and respond to emergency situations and to support the transition towards peace and reconciliation.

But the report stresses the need for adequate financial and material resources to be made available. We hope that there will be greater response to the Consolidated Inter-Agency Appeal so that the comprehensive approach proposed by the Secretary-General can be supported. We must, however, express our concern that, as stated in the report, programmes linked to the TNG have received virtually no assistance from international donors, including the United Nations agencies themselves, and we hope that this matter can be addressed speedily.

Security continues to be of concern. We have heard from the Prime Minister of the steps taken by the Transitional National Government in a situation in which there was no government infrastructure, such as a civil service, for more than 10 years. Further action has been taken in regard to the police and judiciary, but this has been hampered by the lack of funds.

We agree with the Secretary-General that a key role for the international community is to support the establishment of the rule of law and the emergence of impartial national political and judicial institutions in the country. We also agree with those who have referred to the fact that without adherence to the arms embargo, it will be impossible to stop the fighting which has been ongoing recently.

The Secretary-General has reiterated that the political, humanitarian and development challenges faced by Somalia are of such magnitude that the peace-building process is likely to take a long time to complete. Jamaica strongly supports the establishment of a peace-building mission in Somalia. But we have taken note of the Secretary-General's conclusion that

the security situation does not make it possible for him to recommend the deployment of such a mission at this time. We share the concerns of the Secretary-General for the safety and security of United Nations staff and associated personnel. We therefore hope that a comprehensive assessment of the security situation can be carried out in the near future and the results made available to the Security Council.

In conclusion, we agree with the Secretary-General that the Somali parties should dedicate themselves entirely to efforts to achieve the ultimate objective: the return of their country to peace, stability and overall normalcy. We have been heartened today by the expressions of the Prime Minister on behalf of the Transitional National Government. The international community must continue to support these efforts. The people of Somalia deserve this.

Mr. Ouane (Mali) (*spoke in French*): My delegation is grateful to you, Mr. President, for organizing this public meeting to consider the situation in Somalia, thereby giving us an opportunity for an open discussion of a matter that has led to criticism of the Security Council has been criticized for lack of proper attention.

I am pleased to welcome the participation of Prime Minister Ali Khalif Galaydh of Somalia, and I thank him for his important statement. My thanks also go to the Secretary-General for his excellent report, and to Mr. David Stephen, Representative of the Secretary-General in Somalia for his supplementary briefing.

Much progress has been made since our last meeting on the situation in Somalia, but, given the Somali people's tremendous need for peace, insufficient progress. The report of the Secretary-General describes a complex reality that calls for action by both Somalis and the international community.

Another source of concern is the serious humanitarian situation across the country. As the Secretary-General underscores in his report, the country's economic and social systems have been compromised by more than 10 years of war and by a series of national disasters. This situation is compounded by the effects of food insecurity, which is likely to intensify between now and the end of the year. There is therefore a need to continue to monitor the situation.

The security situation is also worrisome, particularly in "Puntland", as is the serious human rights crisis, especially in southern and central Somalia.

Nevertheless, the prospects for the peace process in Somalia continue to be encouraging. Here I would like to mention first the results of the Arta Peace Conference and the establishment of a Transitional National Assembly and a Transitional National Government, as well as the forthcoming setting up of a National Commission for Reconciliation and Property Settlement.

In the same vein, we welcome the important regional peace initiatives, in particular the one led by President Omer Hassan Ahmed Al-Bashir of the Sudan, current Chairman of the Inter-Governmental Authority on Development (IGAD). We also welcome the involvement of the Organization of African Unity, whose Council of Ministers at their most recent meeting extended the Organization's support to the Arta process and reaffirmed its commitment to the unity, territorial integrity and sovereignty of Somalia.

Likewise, the Secretary-General's initiative to set up a Committee of Friends of Somalia is also welcome, and we fully support it. That Committee will make a useful contribution to resolving the immense problems that Somalia will have to overcome in its reconstruction and development process. Perhaps Mr. Stephen could give us more information about how it will operate. In addition, at an appropriate stage, the establishment of a peace-building mission would contribute to Somalia's stabilization and development process. In that connection, sending an inter-agency mission to Somalia in the near future also seems necessary.

In conclusion, I wish to note that we support the Secretary-General's proposal to renew the mandate of the United Nations Political Office for Somalia for two years, and to pay tribute to the Representative of the Secretary-General and all his staff for their important work for Somalia's reconstruction.

Mr. Amin (Bangladesh): It is a distinct honour to have the Prime Minister of Somalia with us today. We welcome his statement and recognize his Government's pragmatic approach and commitment to the peace process. We are also grateful to Representative of the Secretary-General, David Stephen, for his presentation

of the Secretary-General's report and for his extremely valuable insights into the situation in Somalia.

I would like to add my delegation's voice on two basic principles or policies. First, I reaffirm our support for the sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of Somalia; secondly, I wish to assert that, as several members have underlined, the Arta peace process remains the only viable option, and that all Somali factions and parties should support the peace process.

Afghanistan has been mentioned in the context of our consideration of the situation in Somalia. The Security Council should weigh the risk of delay, or procrastination, in ensuring an effective engagement in Somalia. Much has been said about peace-building needs. We would also link those needs with preventive measures required by the Somali situation. We would remind ourselves of the commitments made under resolution 1366 (2001). Clearly, we should take a lesson from history and not repeat the experience with Afghanistan.

I will go a step further and say that a substantive engagement of the United Nations in Somalia would be consistent with the recent recommendation of the Secretary-General in favour of the phase III deployment of the United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC), starting with Kindu as a forward base, which would also involve high risks and high costs.

We have taken note of the conclusions of the last two security assessment missions. They spoke of marginal improvement, but improvements have been made. We have also taken note of the Secretary-General's recommendation not to open a United Nations peace-building office in Somalia at this time. The United States put stress on the timing. The only point we would make in that regard is that at this time we should not project too far into the future.

The proposed Committee of Friends of Somalia could be a critically important instrument. In that regard, we hold the view that the opinions of the Transitional National Government (TNG) of Somalia should be taken into account in setting up the Committee and in defining its policies and objectives. It will also be extremely important to have some kind of mechanism or arrangement for a sustained relationship with the Security Council. The Council should be in the know about the activities of the Committee once it is established.

As in any other conflict situation, possibly the regional countries are very important. We share the view that they can play a more helpful role.

We would also flag the continued menace posed by the flow of small arms into the country. Ways and means should be found to halt arms supplies to the warlords.

As the Representative of the Secretary-General informed us, Somalia has undergone a very fundamental change. The warlords have lost ground vis-à-vis the people. Now is the time for the United Nations to step up its support for the peace process.

It is deeply disturbing to note, as the Secretary-General observed in paragraph 48 of his report — this was also flagged by Jamaica — that programmes linked to the TNG have received virtually no assistance from international donors, including United Nations agencies. May I, through you, Mr. President, ask for further information in this regard from the Representative of the Secretary-General. We would also be interested to know the reasons for the meagre response to the appeal for \$130 million in assistance — only about 20 per cent of that amount has been provided. Is that because of security, fiscal, administrative or other considerations on the part of the donors? How can the Council help the situation? The engagement of the United Nations in the economic recovery of Somalia at this stage is critical, and we should explore ways and means of supporting it.

The President: I will now make a statement in my capacity as the representative of Ireland.

I thank Mr. David Stephen for introducing the report of the Secretary-General. Ireland has long viewed Somalia as an inadvertently lost member of the international community. As the President of the Security Council for the month of October, Ireland therefore considered the inclusion of Somalia on the agenda to be a priority. We are gratified to see the wide interest in the discussion today. I believe that this reflects the growing conviction of Member States as to the need for the international community to re-engage, and to be seen to be re-engaging, in helping Somalia.

The basis of any role for the United Nations and the international community in Somalia is that we can only help Somalia to help itself. Certainly to date there has not been a great deal by way of indigenous political initiatives that we can step in and support. We

recognize the excellent work that is being done by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and the other United Nations agencies that are operating in Somalia. Their efforts, both humanitarian and developmental, have been the focus of United Nations involvement in Somalia in recent years. We strongly commend their recovery and development activities, which have contributed to creating an environment more conducive to peace and reconciliation. However, we believe that the time has now come for the wider United Nations system to become more involved. For its part, the Council should not settle into a syndrome of limited ambition, even as our full determination is daily evident elsewhere.

We agree with the Secretary-General that the completion of the Arta process provides the most viable route towards durable peace in Somalia. We believe that the people of Somalia have begun to commit themselves to the peaceful reconciliation of their difficulties. We may expect that some spoilers will continue their violent efforts to thwart peace efforts. But we must show solidarity with the people of Somalia as they seek to make their way back to rejoin the family of nations.

The Secretary-General suggests that the National Commission for Reconciliation and Property Settlement, an integral element of the Transitional National Charter, could be an option for promoting national reconciliation. Ireland fully supports the establishment of such an independent commission as a means of bringing Somalis together to complete the Arta process. In this regard, we call on the Transitional National Government (TNG) and the Somalia Reconciliation and Restoration Council to enter into constructive dialogue in a spirit of compromise and mutual respect to bring about national reconciliation. We call on all countries with influence on the Somali parties to encourage them to establish such a commission and to cooperate fully with it.

I said earlier that we can only support the efforts of the Somalis themselves. While the pace of the political process has been slow, we must acknowledge that there has been measurable progress. In very difficult circumstances, the TNG has registered achievement. We agree with the assessment of the Secretary-General that any Government in Somalia would face problems similar to those faced by the TNG. We welcome the proposal of the Secretary-General to establish a Committee of Friends of

Somalia. It is clear that Somalia has many friends. A closely coordinated effort on the part of external actors, including the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD), would be to the advantage of the process. We believe that the proposed Committee of Friends would greatly enhance the regional capacity to facilitate national reconciliation. In this regard, we commend the efforts of IGAD and the Organization of African Unity.

We have long recognized the positive role that the regional actors can play, and have played, in supporting peace in Somalia. However, my delegation is very concerned about the potentially destabilizing role that neighbouring States play in Somalia. On 11 January last, the Council adopted presidential statement S/PRST/2001/1, in which we insisted that all States should refrain from any military intervention in the internal situation in Somalia, and that the territory of Somalia should not be used to undermine the stability of the subregion. It is a matter of great concern to us that not all States seem to have heeded that injunction. Once again we call on all States to refrain from interfering in the internal affairs of Somalia. Furthermore, we call on all States to use their influence over the various groups in Somalia to encourage them strongly as to the need to complete the Arta process.

We are very concerned about the grave humanitarian situation in Somalia. We fully support the multisectoral strategy adopted by United Nations agencies, focusing on rehabilitation, prevention, preparedness and supporting peace and reconciliation, as well as purely emergency humanitarian needs. We encourage donors to respond generously to the Consolidated Inter-Agency Appeal. As the Secretary-General's report makes clear, the international community must respond much more urgently to the humanitarian needs of Somalia. The United Nations development agencies, especially UNDP, have a crucial role to play.

We note the decision of the Secretary-General that he will continue to monitor the security situation in Somalia with a view to establishing a peace-building mission. We owe it to the people of Somalia, who have drifted away from the international community for 10 years, to assure them that our commitment is serious. In this regard, we believe that the time is now right for the United Nations to undertake an in-depth security assessment directed from Headquarters in New York. In this regard, I would like to ask the Representative of

the Secretary-General if there is anything the United Nations could do to assist the TNG to provide the security necessary for a peace-building mission in Somalia.

For too long we have allowed the people of Somalia to struggle alone on, or virtually over, the horizon of Security Council attention. The negative consequences have been too great. It must weigh on the collective conscience of the international community. Ireland believes that the time has come for the Security Council to take a comprehensive approach to Somalia.

I now resume my function as President of the Council.

The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of Djibouti. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Olhaye (Djibouti): I should like at the outset to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency for this month. Given your openness and clear insights and your sensitivity to the causes and consequences of many conflict situations before this body, as well as your vast diplomatic experience, we are, indeed, in good hands. May I also express our deep gratitude to your predecessor, Ambassador Jean-David Levitte of France, for steering the Council's deliberations last month to a successful conclusion.

It is also with great pride and a distinct feeling of honour that I welcome Prime Minister Ali Khalif Galaydh and his delegation here this morning. I commend him for his patience and strength in the face of formidable odds and for his strenuous and tireless efforts. He has made tremendous personal sacrifices in pursuit of national reconstruction, cohesion and reconciliation.

It is important to mention that the Arta Peace Conference and the subsequent formation of the Transitional National Government attracted hundreds of qualified, talented and highly experienced Somali professionals from all parts of the world, particularly from Europe and North America. These individuals left behind their families, careers, well-paying jobs and secure and comfortable lifestyles, in order to meet the challenges and to nurture the nascent Government in its crucial task of nation-building.

Like the international staff in Somalia, they have a deep sense of appreciation of the true dimension of security. They deeply care about security as they toil

daily to restore a semblance of hope, sustenance and normalcy. Obviously, there is no better barometer of security than these patriotic individuals, who are not there for pay, comfort or power. More than anybody, they know what is at stake and what is justifiable or reasonably risky. They know what is exaggerated or irrational. We need to take into full consideration the sacrifices and determination of this truly international staff in determining the broader scope of security in Somalia.

After a long wait and anxious moments, we have the Secretary-General's report on Somalia at last. We wish to express our gratitude to the Secretary-General, who has always displayed keen interest in restoring peace and stability to Somalia. We also recognize the Secretariat's efforts, in particular, those of Mr. David Stephen and his staff, including the many humanitarian aid workers in Somalia. It is almost a year since we last had a report on Somalia, and that long interval itself says much about where the international community stands in its support for the new institutions in Somalia.

The entire world is too familiar with the events in Somalia over the last decade, in particular, its plunge into chaos, civil strife and near disintegration. No one will deny the contribution of numerous factors to this spectacle. Yet, likewise, no one will deny the overwhelming share of blame that must be placed at the feet of self-serving, greedy and criminal individuals. Through their domestic terrorism, divisiveness and continuous assaults on peace and security, they succeeded in driving Somalia beyond ruin to a virtual pariah status. So catastrophic were the suffering and national unravelling that the international community had to intervene. As the Secretary-General's report (S/1999/882) on Somalia of 16 August 1999 stated, the country had degenerated into a "black hole" of anarchy.

Time and time again the so-called leaders of Somalia, the rabble of warlords, were brought together in attempts at reconciliation, disarmament and restoration of government. We recall the successive conferences held until the end of 1997. The more they met and signed agreements, the more they disagreed subsequently. Many countries and organizations have worked tirelessly and relentlessly to restore a measure of governance in Somalia. The focus, though, has always remained on ways to bring together these feuding warlords in order to assist them to reach an

agreement that will end their stalemate. All these efforts, however, as we all know, ended in vain. In Somalia, as in similar conflict situations elsewhere, more than 90 per cent of casualties in the last decade have been civilians. A whole generation of Somalis has grown up in cultures of warfare.

It was against this backdrop that my President initiated a series of proposals at the General Assembly in September 1999. In a nutshell, he stated plainly that appeasing the warlords had not worked and never would. He exhorted the people of Somalia to come together to consider his proposals as an alternative to the never-ending squabble, prevarication and impotence of warlords. In initiating this national dialogue, Djibouti was unambiguous. The process would be comprehensive in addressing all facets of Somalia's ills; it would be transparent, inclusive and independent of undue influences.

The participation of leaders of factions and administrative regions was sought and aggressively pursued directly and indirectly throughout the Conference and since the formation of the new Government. The criteria for their participation were never spelled out in advance. The door has always been open, and it will continue to be open. But it was implicit that they had to affirm the unity and territorial integrity of the country, that they had to agree to peace, reconciliation and the primacy of law, and that they had to commit to complete and verifiable disarmament. Not only did they opt to stay away, but they also embarked on obstructing and undermining the Conference in order to maintain the status quo. Despite their absence, genuine representatives from every district, region, clan, sub-clan and minorities converged at Arta, Djibouti. Indeed this was a people-oriented, people-led and people-driven process, embracing all segments of Somali society.

This Council followed the Arta process with great interest from its inception. In its first statement on the matter, in November 1999, the Council welcomed the initiative of President Guelleh aimed at restoring peace and stability in Somalia. It endorsed the President's call on warlords to recognize fully and accept the principle that the people of Somalia are free to exercise their democratic right to choose their own leaders.

In June 2000 the Council's statement urged States and international organizations in a position to do so to give the Arta process political support. Furthermore,

the Council expressed its readiness to consider taking appropriate steps against warlords and faction leaders who continued to obstruct and undermine efforts to achieve peace. In its press statement of 11 July 2001, the Council called upon all armed groups in Somalia to put down their weapons and to engage in peaceful dialogue with the Transitional National Government. As the Secretary-General's report states, the Organization of African Unity summit in Lusaka strongly condemned warlords who persist in their stubbornness in blocking the peace efforts in Somalia.

That brings me to share our views on the Secretary-General's report. In a number of paragraphs mention is made of the so-called Somalia Reconciliation and Restoration Council (SRRC) and its formation, objectives and communications with the Secretary-General. As far as we are concerned, this is not an entity that has an existence, context or relevance. If there is anything there, it is the rehabilitation, reincarnation and resuscitation of the otherwise vanishing phenomenon of warlordism in Somalia. The objective is nothing other than to hasten and bring about the early demise of the Transitional National Government itself.

Let us not forget that the TNG represents the will of the people of Somalia, irrespective of its fragility, its lack of resources and the lack of meaningful and credible support from the international community despite being the only recognized Somali national framework in existence today. The so-called Reconciliation and Restoration Council, in other words, has been condemned many times and has been warned to desist from obstructing and undermining efforts to achieve peace. Suffice it to say that we are deeply concerned not only by the casual manner of according a parallel status to this bunch of discredited criminals, but also by the dilution of and utter disregard for the popular will of Somali civil society, which has throughout borne the full brunt of egregious human rights violations perpetrated by the same individuals.

On the proposal for setting up a Committee of Friends, we have no objection in principle, if the overriding motivation behind it is to support the TNG in consolidating peace, stability and reconstruction, and if the TNG is seen, as it should be, as the cornerstone of future activities. The TNG, first and foremost, needs to be supported by all and accorded the requisite legitimacy, as this Council has done and continues to

do, in Guinea-Bissau, the Central African Republic, Sierra Leone and Liberia. We therefore cannot accept any equivocation, destruction or diversion from this central prerequisite. Normally a group of friends of a certain country constitutes a voluntary get-together of like-minded countries, as opposed to a gathering of divergent viewpoints and interests. No doubt, such a group could help to facilitate the exchange of information about Somalia among interested parties, and we welcome that, but the TNG's paramount role need not be compromised.

We strongly encourage the Council to forge a common view on Somalia with regard to assisting the people, including a reasonable and flexible response to the security issue, which is becoming the stumbling block to establishing a post-conflict peace-building mission. It would also be constructive to make a comprehensive security assessment, directed from New York Headquarters.

Somalia today means different things to different people. For many, the wounds and misfortunes of eight years ago remain raw, as if inflicted only two or three months ago. Somalia had undergone tremendous cycles of bust and promise at that time. And, believe it or not, the people of Somalia are determined to press on for attention, even if they continue to receive indifference, neglect or bias. Somalia will not go away. Like many other nations emerging from long periods of conflict, Somalia remains a challenge that we ignore only at our own peril. Beyond moral and humanitarian concerns, Somalia has continued to be shunned; it has become yet another threat of unfathomable security dimensions, a breeding ground of terrorism and drug-trafficking and a centre of arms trade. So as we build a global coalition to root out international terrorism, we also need to think seriously about restoring hope and rebuilding shattered societies into tolerant, stable and peaceful places, rather than watching them degenerate slowly into cells of extremism, fundamentalism and terrorism.

The transition from war to consolidated peace is not without its problems. Quite often, it is associated with insecurity, an uncertain future and repeated cycles of violence. That is what Somalia is. This is not a situation never seen before. So it all depends on how the international community comes to look at Somalia again — in a different light. We hope it will do so, and do so soon, to avert the re-emergence of violence.

For all genuine regional and international efforts to succeed in Somalia, it becomes necessary that all actors reach a common, objective and unbiased vision about the real tasks ahead. The TNG will need to continue to reach out to all concerned, with a view to achieving lasting peace.

Finally, the President, the Government and the people of Djibouti have made the utmost efforts in every possible way to create a climate conducive to the re-emergence of Somali nationhood. Thanks to the tireless efforts and sacrifices of Somalis themselves, we have a national representative outfit that deserves this Council's unswerving support.

Members of the Council, it is in your hands for this entity to survive, to grow and to usher Somalia into tangible peace, reconciliation and stability. We have no doubt you will also play your part.

The President: I thank the representative of Djibouti for his kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of Egypt, whom I invite to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Aboul Gheit (Egypt) (spoke in Arabic): Mr. President, allow me at the outset to extend our thanks to you for organizing this meeting and for giving States that are not members of the Security Council the opportunity to express their views on the situation in Somalia and on the collective role that we must play in order to assist this friendly Arab African country to regain its natural place in the fold of the international community. Permit me also to express our appreciation to the Secretary-General for the important report that we are deliberating today. Our appreciation also goes to his Representative in Somalia, Mr. David Stephen, for his exemplary efforts in support of the national reconciliation process there and for his valuable briefing to the Council this morning.

Almost six and a half years have passed since the departure from Somalia of the United Nations peacekeeping troops serving in the United Nations Operation in Somalia II (UNOSOM II). Unfortunately, since then the international community has remained idle and excessively hesitant in addressing the situation in that country, in shouldering its collective responsibility to bring about lasting peace in Somalia, in preserving the country's sovereignty and territorial

integrity and in putting an end to the crisis raging there for over 10 years.

We understand the specific circumstances of the problematic situation in Somalia, which would discourage the Council from displaying the political will to support the country, as provided for under the Charter. We also find, however, that the time has come for us to take courage from the numerous positive developments in Somalia following the peace process, and since the Transitional National Government (TNG), led by President Abdikassim Salad Hassan, was established. We have to build upon the momentum generated by the Arta Conference and its results.

In addressing the proposals made by the Secretary-General in his report, I wish to make some specific comments that we think we should highlight.

First, before addressing the specific steps that the international community should take towards Somalia, we must remind the Security Council of what it has previously pledged in such circumstances.

In the declaration it adopted at the Summit meeting in September of last year, the Council reaffirmed its determination to give equal priority to the maintenance of international peace and security in every region of the world, while paying special attention to the promotion of durable peace and sustainable development in Africa, in view of the special needs of the continent and the specific characteristics of the conflicts raging on its territories. In its presidential statement on peace-building, adopted last February, the Council also reiterated that efforts to ensure lasting solutions to conflicts and to maintain the momentum for peace in any given country or region require increased solidarity, sustained political will and timely and adequate resources on the part of the international community.

Secondly, while we support all that the Council has pledged to undertake in this regard and, in fact, welcome the efforts it undertakes in relevant fields, we find that the Council has completely failed to implement these pledges in the case of Somalia. Somalia did not receive the same priority that the Council has given to other conflicts within or outside Africa. The Council did not give special attention to the specific peculiarities characterizing the Somali conflict. The international community did not display the increased solidarity or necessary political will to maintain the momentum towards peace in Somalia and

the attainment of a lasting settlement to the conflict there.

Thirdly, all these observations lead us to renew our appeal to the Security Council to assume its responsibilities under the Charter and to undertake a more positive and effective role in resolving the conflict in Somalia, and not to merely rely on the role played by neighbouring and interested States or on the efforts that the relevant regional organizations are keen to undertake. The Council must throw its weight behind the Transitional National Government and compel the rest of the Somali factions that remain outside the Arta process, including the members of the so-called Somalia Reconciliation and Restoration Council, to join the national reconciliation efforts currently under way and cooperate with President Hassan in his efforts to rebuild and rehabilitate the governmental institutions destroyed by the civil war. President Hassan should be helped in establishing a credible police force and in disarming and demobilizing the militias operating in the capital, Mogadishu. From this standpoint, Egypt welcomes the statement in the Secretary-General's report that the completion of the Arta process remains the most viable option and expresses its hope that this conviction will serve as the point of departure for the efforts that the United Nations must undertake from this time onwards to assist and support the Transitional National Government.

Fourthly, at the same time, the Council cannot ignore the fact that there is an arms embargo imposed on Somalia, under resolution 733 (1992), which has not been respected for many years and whose enforcement the Council has not taken any concrete measures to ensure. No lasting peace can be attained in Somalia when any of the factions opposed to peace can obtain arms and ammunition, which allow them to sabotage the current reconciliation efforts and resist the popular yearning for peace and security. We have seen that the Security Council is indeed capable of enforcing the sanctions regimes it has imposed in different areas if it has the necessary political determination and willingness to do so. This was the case in Sierra Leone, when the Council established a Panel of Experts to investigate the extent of the implementation of the sanctions imposed on the Revolutionary United Front; in Angola, with the establishment of the Monitoring Mechanism for the sanctions imposed on UNITA; and in Afghanistan, with the creation of a specific

mechanism to monitor the implementation of the measures imposed against the Taliban. We therefore see no justification for the Council to stand back, evade its responsibilities and not take the appropriate measures to ensure the implementation of the embargo imposed on Somalia and the enforcement of the relevant resolutions that the Council itself has adopted.

Fifthly, the delegation of Egypt takes note of what was mentioned in the Secretary-General's report on the establishment of a post-conflict peace-building mission in Somalia. While we appreciate the reasons and justifications that led the Secretary-General not to recommend the deployment of such a mission at this stage, we would also like to reiterate that the United Nations must be ready to confront the challenges and dangers that it may face in Somalia, just as it does in other regions or States where United Nations personnel are present. We cannot wait until perfect security conditions prevail before deploying the mission, especially since such a logic will only lead us into a vicious cycle in which any real hopes of providing security and peace to the Somali people will evaporate — a people who have known only war and poverty for the last decade.

Finally, on the other hand, Egypt welcomes the proposal put forward by the Secretary-General to establish a Committee of Friends for Somalia to explore ways and means of drawing attention to Somalia's needs in the area of national reconciliation and to mobilize the required funds for the rehabilitation and development process. We therefore look forward to the consultations the Secretary-General intends to hold to implement this initiative. There is no doubt that such a mechanism will enhance coordination among the external States and organizations that have a role in the reconciliation process and have influence over the Somali parties. Egypt, for its part, will be fully ready to participate in this mechanism, not only because of the historical relations and strategic interests that bind it with Somalia but also because of the efforts it is keen to undertake at the national level and within the League of Arab States, the Organization of African Unity and the Intergovernmental Authority on Development Partners Forum.

The President: I thank the representative of Egypt for his kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya. I invite

him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Dorda (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) (*spoke in Arabic*): Allow me to express our thanks to you, Sir, and to salute you for convening this meeting dedicated to the discussion of the situation in Somalia. I am very pleased to see you presiding over the Council, in view of my deep respect for you and my estimation of your abilities. I also thank you for making this an open meeting, held in the only natural and right forum. I am not the only one who is pleased to see the Council in session here. I would presume all Members of the United Nations and the international community, on whose behalf you are acting, are, as well. I can assure you that the seats of this Chamber have lost the warmth of living bodies and have become bored with that artificial warmth of the lifeless heating system.

Let me pay tribute to the Prime Minister of the brotherly country of Somalia. I would like to thank him for his statement, which was extremely important and useful for all of us, and for the Council in particular. Also, I would like to commend the Secretary-General, who was the one most interested in the question of Somalia, and who has submitted many reports to the Council, including the report under discussion in today's meeting. I would also like to thank the Representative of the Secretary-General for his valuable statement.

It is common knowledge that my country was the only one to maintain its embassy in Mogadishu. We have never closed our diplomatic mission there for a single day, other than on official holidays, from the start of the crisis to this very day. My country has also called for convening meetings on Libyan territory among all factions involved in the conflict in Somalia over the past decade. We have tried by all possible means to enable those factions to reach a peaceful solution that would ensure the stability and territorial integrity of Somalia and the unity of its people.

We pay tribute to the efforts of Djibouti and its President for their tireless efforts leading to the convening of the Somalia National Peace Conference in Arta, where, for the first time, a sound and correct foundation was laid for achieving consensus among 5,000 Somalis representing all social, religious, ethnic and regional factions throughout Somalia. The approach resulting in that consensus and in the adoption of the Transitional National Charter and

Government is the essential one if we wish to support and strengthen that country and ensure the stability and unity of the Somali people and homeland.

I believe that one of the most important functions of the Security Council in this regard is to achieve the objectives embodied in its name — the maintenance of international peace and security — in considering such questions. I believe that the fears arising from past experiences in Somalia are no longer valid and that the Council can therefore have no excuse to hesitate, because the conditions that prevailed in those years were very different from those prevailing today. In those days, there were no Somalis with whom to maintain cooperation. Today, however, there is a Transitional National Government, an Assembly and popular support among all Somalis for this new beginning.

All sectors of the Somali population are fed up with war and tired of living in such unstable conditions. The most skilled workers of Somalia have left the country and now live abroad. Only the warlords want to abort the outcome of the Arta process, certainly out of self-interest. If they felt that the Security Council and the United Nations system were serious in supporting the Transitional National Government, they would have retreated from their current positions and accepted the advice to join the Arta process. However, their perception that the Council and the United Nations were not serious led them to believe that the former conditions in Somalia could be restored. War and violence have become the sole profession of these warlords and they know no other.

Will this Council allow those factions to achieve their own selfish goals to the detriment of the interests of Somalia? Let me cite one example. The representative of France, Ambassador Levitte, raised a very important point that should be given the Council's full attention. Outlaws — be they terrorists, drug lords or arms dealers — along with the forces of their countries, may perceive Somalia as an ideal haven. Should we allow Somalia to become a base for all these outlaw forces and only then consider mounting a campaign like that staged by the Security Council and the United Nations a few years ago, with all its potential dangers, sacrifices and loss of life?

The best option is to support the Transitional National Government, but what role is there for the Council in requesting that Government to establish

peace? What justification is there for the United Nations to intervene if the Transitional National Government can attain peace by itself? What party can intervene if the Transitional National Government alone has the power to achieve peace?

Furthermore, I have found in the Koran the answer to the conundrum of the chicken-and-egg. When Noah boarded the ark that God had ordered him to build, he was told to bring a pair of animals of each species. I believe that religion has a basis in reason. The pair of chickens was composed of a hen and a rooster, not two eggs. Eggs would have broken in the tumult of the flood that later deluged the ark. I mean to suggest that a peace-building mission could be permanently deployed in Somalia in order to lay the egg of peace, but calling upon the Transitional National Government to establish peace, then having the Security Council guarantee that peace, would be acting like those who would place the cart before the horse.

Why do we set aside a budget for peacekeeping and pay our annual contributions to the United Nations budget? Do we do so in order to maintain peace in one region and not in others? This is the subject of discussion in the African Group and other forums. We should like to see the Council act uniformly in all cases that require peacekeeping or peace-building.

In brief, my country, which has made every possible effort, remains willing to work, through the Council and the African Union, to ensure that stability is restored to Somalia. I call on the Council to do the following. First, a Security Council mission, similar to those sent to many other countries, should be dispatched to Somalia and submit a report, on the basis of which, I would hope, the Council would be able later to deploy a peace-building mission.

Secondly, I hope that the Council would agree to fund the National Commission for Reconciliation and Property Settlement. The Government of Somalia cannot convene that Commission, if I have understood the Prime Minister, quite simply because it cannot afford the travel costs of the participants, who live in the United States, Europe, Arab countries, Africa and some Asian countries. Sufficient funding should be made available to enable the National Reconciliation Commission to convene as soon as possible and to meet any other relevant expenses that could facilitate the work of the Commission.

I would ask the Council to support the Transitional National Government of Somalia in creating and operating vital infrastructure facilities that are important to the work of the United Nations as well, such as the airport and the seaport. Those facilities could also be a source of income for the Transitional National Government; moreover, the United Nations and its missions could make use of them in the event of any threat to the work of United Nations staff members in Somalia.

Mr. President, I am in fact optimistic that, under your stewardship, and thanks to the convening of today's meeting, there will be follow-up to these matters among members of the Council. This meeting is giving us greater understanding and optimism with respect to the Council's future work on the question of Somalia.

The President: I thank the representative of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya for the kind words he addressed to me.

In view of the lateness of the hour, and with the agreement of members of the Council, I shall now suspend the meeting until 3 p.m.

The meeting was suspended at 1.15 p.m.